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Tuesday, 31 May 1994, 6.35 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Gambari	(Nigeria)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cardenas
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Pakistan	Mr. Khan
	Russian Federation	Mr. Sidorov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bizimana
	Spain	Mr. Pedauye
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay
	United States of America	Mr. Gnehm

Agenda

The situation in Somalia

Further report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Somalia, submitted in pursuance of paragraph 14 of resolution 897 (1994) (S/1994/614)

94-85715 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 6.35 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Somalia

Further report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Somalia, submitted in pursuance of paragraph 14 of resolution 897 (1994) (S/1994/614)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Somalia in which she requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Ms. Hassan (Somalia) took a place at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Somalia, submitted in pursuance of paragraph 14 of resolution 897 (1994), document S/1994/614. Members of the Council also have before them document S/1994/638, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Bizimana (Rwanda) *(interpretation from French):* My delegation welcomes the detailed and complete report presented by the Secretary-General on the situation in Somalia. In this connection, we pay tribute to the sustained efforts of Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali, which are being actively followed up by his Acting Special Representative, Ambassador Lansana Kouyate. We also wish to commend the courage of the staff of the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) and the humanitarian organizations, as well as the significant contribution of certain Member States that are providing troops and logistical, material and other forms of assistance.

The Secretary-General's report indicates that since the adoption of resolution 897 (1994) the process of national reconciliation in Somalia has gained new impetus. In this context, we welcome the Declaration, made in the form of a manifesto of reconciliation, signed in Nairobi on 24 March 1994 by the leaders of Somali political organizations. Through this Declaration, the Somalis undertake in particular to restore peace throughout the country, to convene a national reconciliation conference to elect a President and Vice-Presidents, to appoint a Prime Minister, to complete the establishment of local authorities and to create an independent judiciary.

The implementation of this Declaration, backed by the renewed support of the international community, is of crucial importance; it is a challenge to be met on the way to Somalia's reconciliation and reconstruction. The prospects are all the more significant in that they rely on the determination expressed by the Somali parties to work together towards voluntary disarmament and a permanent cease-fire.

This determination of the parties will, however, be meaningful and reliable only if it leads to a positive change with respect to military activities. In that connection, it is disturbing that, despite political reconciliation efforts being made at the regional and national levels, the security situation is deteriorating and the various factions are rearming to try to improve their positions on the ground before the national reconciliation conference is convened.

The precarious and unforeseeable nature of the situation is related above all to the suddenness with which disturbances and fighting between the clans tend to break out, as well as to the high degree of banditry, especially in the urban centres.

In order to put a stop to that situation, we must without delay proceed to the full deployment of the authorized force of UNOSOM II, set at 22,000 men, and provide this force with the necessary logistical and material means to discharge its mandate.

Moreover, it is important to accelerate the implementation of programmes relating to the justice system and the police.

With respect to demining, we wish to commend the efforts made by UNOSOM II, whose approach has made it possible to extend the operation to a larger part of Somali territory. The proposed creation of a demining training centre and the continuation and extension of the mine awareness programme will no doubt make it possible to achieve success in this area.

Despite the great efforts of the international community, the emergency humanitarian situation persists, and the report of the Secretary-General reveals that many Somalis still face an uncertain fate. There are shortages of food and water as well as epidemics and various other calamities throughout the country.

We fully support the initiative that led to setting up the Emergency Operations Group, made up of representatives of United Nations agencies, the consortium of non-governmental organizations and the UNOSOM Force command, and praise the efforts to stem the cholera epidemic.

To help the Somalis to meet their critical needs and face their constant challenges, collective action by the international community is still indispensable in order to support the efforts of the Somali people to reconstruct their country's political and socio-economic structure.

That is why my delegation supports the draft resolution before the Council to renew the mandate of UNOSOM II.

Mr. Khan (Pakistan): My Government, which today is the largest contributor to the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) in terms of personnel, was most gratified when the leaders of the Somali political organizations, meeting in Nairobi, adopted a declaration on 24 March 1994. In this Declaration the Somali leaders not only affirmed their repudiation of violence and acceptance of voluntary disarmament, but also agreed to convene a national reconciliation conference to elect a President and an unspecified number of Vice-Presidents and to appoint a Prime Minister. Another important feature of the Declaration was the appeal addressed to the international community, asking it to continue its efforts to assist Somalia until it could stand on its own feet. This appeal, in my view, among other things, vindicated the presence of UNOSOM II in Somalia - a presence whose very legitimacy had been put under question not very long ago.

We regret, however, that the repeated postponements of the preparatory meeting to lay the groundwork for the national reconciliation conference have somewhat tarnished the promise of the Nairobi Declaration. I doubt if the international community is prepared to see the Declaration of 24 March 1994 meet the same fate as the Addis Ababa Accords of March 1993. We do understand that the process which the Somali parties have embarked upon is a complicated one. Therefore, some delays could have been expected to take place for legitimate reasons. However, in all such situations a point can be reached where scepticism replaces hope.

The Government and people of Pakistan have the deepest feelings of sympathy and fraternity for the people of Somalia. It is only because of this, as well as our commitment to the peace-keeping role of the United Nations, that we have persisted with our participation in UNOSOM II, despite many difficulties. Nevertheless, we remain deeply concerned about the safety, security and welfare of our troops serving under the United Nations flag, and - God forbid - if there is any large-scale outbreak of fighting in Somalia resulting in casualties among the Pakistani contingent, then my Government would be obliged to seriously review the situation.

While we are concerned at the deterioration in the security situation in Somalia, the continued interfactional fighting and the rise in the incidence of banditry, we cannot at the same time ignore the positive elements over the last few months. The foremost among these is the declared commitment of the Somali parties to pursue the path of reconciliation. The progress in the implementation of the justice and police programmes, though slightly behind schedule, can be termed adequate. The overall humanitarian situation has registered considerable improvement over the last year or so. The demining programme has also proceeded in a satisfactory manner.

I should like to place on record my delegation's gratitude to the Secretary-General for his latest report on

Somalia, which we find most useful, well-structured and cogent. My delegation was willing to accept his recommendation to renew the mandate of UNOSOM II for a period of six months. We felt, however, that an equally convincing case had been made for reducing the extension period to four months. This should not be seen as an erosion of the commitment of the international community to the people of Somalia. Rather, it signifies a desire to persuade the Somali parties to hasten their endeavours towards the objective of national reconciliation. My delegation is confident that adequate progress during this period would lead to a further renewal of the UNOSOM mandate. My delegation will therefore support the draft resolution before the Council.

Mr. Al-Khussaiby (Oman): Allow me, at the outset, to extend my delegation's sincere thanks through you, Mr. President, to Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, for his comprehensive report on Somalia, which is undoubtedly responsive to many of our concerns regarding the situation in Somalia. I should also like to seize this opportunity to commend the Secretary-General's Special Representative for his vigorous efforts in this regard.

My delegation welcomes the successful efforts of the United Nations in convening a meeting between the Somali leaders in Nairobi, the capital of Kenya, which has contributed to the improvement of dialogue and the narrowing down of the differences between the conflicting Somali factions which led to the signing of the Nairobi Declaration on 24 March 1994. There is no doubt that this development is considered a step in the right direction, and all efforts should be geared towards achieving the best results for all.

My delegation reiterates its previous position, believing that it is for the Somali people themselves to assume a greater role in resolving the Somali crisis, and it also reaffirms the significant role of the United Nations and of the international community in helping them to overcome their crisis.

Once again, we urge the Somali leaders to assume their responsibilities in ending their differences in favour of achieving national reconciliation through the peaceful and effective implementation of the agreements reached by them in this matter.

It is obvious that the draft resolution to be adopted reflects the Council's concern over this matter, stressing the importance of the forthcoming period in the history of the Somali people and stating that United Nations support for them is conditioned by the extent of their leaders' determination and practical willingness to solve their problems.

We believe that this is the right message that the Council should address to the Somali leaders in order to reach solid ground on the basis of which positive and reacquired goals are achieved. We are hopeful that this message will have a positive reaction from the Somali leaders.

My delegation will support the draft resolution which is about to be adopted.

Mr. Olhaye (Djibouti): My delegation has read with considerable interest the further report (S/1994/614) of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM), dated 24 May 1994. It seems to reflect the mood of the international community: one of anticipation and appreciation, but also of hope.

Almost unexpectedly, the factions met in Nairobi about two months ago and actually forged an agreement foreseeing a national Government, complete with all the normal structures and positions. Most encouraging of all, though, was the coming together of the principal protagonists to sign the Nairobi Declaration - perhaps their first face-to-face negotiations in some time.

Unfortunately, the process has become riddled with postponements and delays. In fact, the initial preparatory meeting has yet to take place, and no firm date has been set for the major reconciliation conference.

Repeated references by the Secretary-General to the deteriorating security situation, the rise in incidents and banditry, the reappearance of the feared "technicals", and, worst of all, the escalating level of rearming seen in all factions do not portend a happy outcome. Once again, the cease-fire commitments have not been honoured, and there is a real concern as to what will transpire in the coming months. Despite the negative aspects, however, efforts to reach agreement and to schedule the necessary conferences and meetings continue. Surprisingly, and perhaps another indication of seriousness, all the factions have requested a continued United Nations presence.

Naturally, while these attempts at setting up meetings continue, other activities go on as well. With the eventual withdrawal of UNOSOM II, the Somalis will

have to assume total responsibility for their own security and justice system. My delegation is pleased to note the attention being devoted to the recruitment and training of Somali police and judges and to the rehabilitation of penal institutions. If there is any possible way to hasten this critical process, we would urge the Secretary-General to explore it, and we would also urge Member States to be generous in their cash contributions and contributions in kind.

The current humanitarian situation remains, as always, a cause of concern. The declining security situation has made the delivery of aid more precarious and unpredictable and has hindered efficiency. UNOSOM II and the other agencies are to be congratulated, however, on the manner in which they have embarked upon emergency and contingency planning and on their concerted response mechanisms. Additionally, efforts aimed at resettling displaced persons, demining, and planning for rehabilitation and reconstruction by the Somalia Aid Coordination Body are proceeding apace. In every one of these endeavours the primary issue is that of security.

We are clearly at a point in Somalia where subsequent steps must come from the Somali people themselves. Firm dates for the necessary preparatory meetings must be set as soon as possible so that a conference of national reconciliation can follow. The situation on the ground, as the Secretary-General says, is a matter of growing concern, and, if not addressed soon by the Somalis through a cease-fire and disarmament agreement, it could quickly escalate out of everyone's control.

We fully concur with the sentiment expressed by the Secretary-General that the presence of UNOSOM II is a stabilizing factor which has prevented total anarchy. From this perspective, a United Nations pullout at this critical juncture would be a sign of abandonment, and would be completely unacceptable to my delegation. With positive signs to offset the negatives and with the growth of a police force, what Somalia needs is time. However, such time must be employed wisely and quickly. The responsibility for this rests squarely on the shoulders of the Somalis, who must show

> "evidence of serious and productive pursuit of the reconciliation process" *(S/1994/614, para. 76)*.

My delegation will therefore support the draft resolution before us to renew the mandate of UNOSOM II, with the anticipated completion of its mission by March 1995.

The President: I shall now put draft resolution S/1994/638 to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 923 (1994).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Li Zhaoxing (China) *(interpretation from Chinese)*: Since the adoption of Security Council resolution 897 (1994), the Somali peace process has made some headway, but at the same time unstable elements have further increased, resulting in a chaotic social order devoid of safety. This cannot but cause us deep concern.

The main purpose of a number of resolutions adopted by the Council on the question of Somalia is to promote the peace process initiated by the Addis Ababa Agreements, achieve genuine national reconciliation and restore peace and stability in Somalia so that its people can set out on the road of rebuilding their homeland and revitalizing their national economy. The United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) has played an important role in safeguarding humanitarian assistance, enhancing negotiations between various parties and promoting national reconciliation in Somalia. Therefore, the Chinese delegation supports the recommendation of the Secretary-General on the extension of the mandate of UNOSOM II and voted in favour of the resolution just adopted.

The international community should continue to make every possible endeavour to help the Somali people to seek an appropriate solution acceptable to all through dialogue and negotiation and to achieve genuine national reconciliation. This is the key to ending civil war and restoring peace in Somalia. In this connection, the Organization of African Unity and the African States can and should continue to play an important role.

UNOSOM II is entrusted with the task of supporting the Somali people in their efforts to achieve national reconciliation. Meanwhile, its humanitarian mandate remains unchanged, and the principle of using non-coercive measures should be observed in the performance of that mandate. We believe that the final solution to the Somali question lies with the Somali people themselves. As long as all the Somali parties adopt a compromising and flexible attitude, an appropriate final solution to the Somali question will be found through peaceful negotiation.

Mr. Ladsous (France) *(interpretation from French):* My delegation joined in the adoption of this resolution extending the mandate of the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) for four months, until 30 September 1994.

My delegation believes that the United Nations must continue its task of promoting that country's return to stability and peace.

My country notes that progress has been made in this direction. Thus, the United Nations presence has made it possible for a large part of the country to return to normal life. The United Nations was called into Somalia in order to put an end to the famine there. From this point of view, we can say that the objective has been achieved. Moreover, the Blue Helmets have made it possible for part of the country's administration to be re-established. Here too, significant progress has been made, particularly in respect of the implementation of the programmes concerning the judiciary and the police; these programmes should not only continue, they should be accelerated.

However, the labour of national reconstruction and reconciliation cannot succeed without the active participation of the Somalis themselves. First and foremost, the factions must continue their negotiations towards the prompt establishment of a government in Somalia that everyone accepts. We have taken note of the holding of a conference preparatory to forming such a government. France recalls that the success of any forthcoming agreement between the Somali factions on this issue will depend on our continuing the efforts we have undertaken to restore peace in that country.

However, we note with regret that the security conditions continue to worsen. We deplore in particular the obstacles set in the way of the free movement of UNOSOM II personnel, given that their apportioned task is aimed primarily at protecting the delivery of humanitarian assistance to the civilian population.

Those who for too long lived by pillaging the country, before the Blue Helmets arrived, must not be allowed to claw back their room for manoeuvre. We therefore call upon the factions to demand that their people display as much restraint as possible so as not to compromise the ongoing efforts and so as not to impel those willing to assist the Somali people to put an end to their missions, which must be accomplished.

In this connection, my country congratulates the Blue Helmets and all of the men and women who have been providing humanitarian assistance and health care on their courage in continuing their efforts in Somalia, where their conditions of service have become extremely dangerous, as has been shown by the recent deaths of five Nepalese soldiers.

France, for its part, will do everything in its power to go on supporting the United Nations mission so that, by March 1995 - as the resolution we have just adopted once more recalls - the objective that we set ourselves when we put the Somali question on the Council's agenda in 1992 will be achieved in full and that reconciliation between all Somalis will become a reality.

Sir David Hannay (United Kingdom): Our last debate on the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM), in February, took place following a thoroughgoing review of the whole operation. This review resulted in a revised and more realistic mandate which left in no doubt the need for the active cooperation of the Somali people if the operation was to achieve its goal. During the six months of the present mandate we have seen some progress. The 24 March Nairobi Declaration, in which all parties committed themselves to national reconciliation, was a step forward and an example of what can be achieved by the Somali parties in cooperation both with each other and with UNOSOM.

But progress since then has been painfully slow. While we welcome the Lower Juba Regional Conference which took place last week, we very much regret that the preparatory meeting for the national reconciliation conference, which all parties had agreed would take place on 15 April, has been postponed yet again.

More worrying still is the fact that, while the political process has been stalled, the security situation has been deteriorating. Not only have the parties failed to honour their commitments to voluntary disarmament, but some factions have begun to rearm and the construction of "technicals" has resumed. Banditry

continues to rise, and we are once again confronted with the news of attacks on United Nations peace-keepers, most recently the tragic deaths, two weeks ago, of five Nepalese soldiers serving with UNOSOM.

The international community, my Government included, has made a massive contribution towards the effort to rebuild Somalia, both through UNOSOM and through the provision of humanitarian and reconstruction assistance. By adopting this resolution extending the mandate of UNOSOM for a further four months we are showing our willingness to continue that commitment. But, as the resolution makes clear, the ultimate responsibility for achieving national reconciliation and for rebuilding their country rests with the Somali people.

The international community will of course do everything possible to help this process, but it cannot be expected to sustain this commitment indefinitely without a matching commitment from the Somali parties.

My Government believes that the resolution just adopted offers the Somali parties a further chance to work, with UNOSOM's help, towards a lasting agreement on national reconciliation, building on what has already been achieved. We urge them to make the best use of this opportunity.

Mr. Keating (New Zealand): New Zealand has supported the adoption of this resolution because of the importance we attach to the United Nations involvement in Somalia and to the fulfilment of the undertaking made in the adoption of resolution 814 (1993), providing for the original establishment of UNOSOM II. That undertaking was that the United Nations would do what it could to assist the Somali people by bringing humanitarian relief to those in need, by assisting the Somali parties in the process of national reconciliation and by attempting to ensure the maintenance of a stable security situation in the country.

Subsequent events required the Security Council to undertake a fundamental review of the role of UNOSOM II at the beginning of this year. That review led to the adoption of resolution 897 (1994), by which the Council redefined the mandate of UNOSOM, particularly in the tasks and methods of operation assigned to it in the security field. An important aspect of that resolution was the reaffirmation in its preamble of the objective that UNOSOM II would complete its mission by 1995.

It is particularly important to my delegation that the resolution we have just adopted repeats that reaffirmation.

As the Secretary-General's report makes clear, notwithstanding the outbreaks of local fighting and the upsurge in banditry, the situation in Somalia since the adoption of resolution 897 (1994) has been surprisingly stable, despite the many predictions in the media of a collapse in the security situation once the majority of western troops withdrew by 31 March.

Developments on the political front have, on one analysis, been less than satisfactory. It is true that there have been recurring delays in the convening of the preparatory meeting for the national reconciliation conference. The resulting further postponement of the national reconciliation conference itself has, at the very least, been a frustrating demonstration of the complexity and mistrust which characterize Somali politics.

But it is possible to analyse the situation in quite a different way. My delegation considers that it would be quite wrong to characterize what has been going on in Somalia over the past four months in negative terms. There are a number of notable successes to counterbalance the setbacks, and reasons which explain - if they do not justify - the slow pace on the political front.

On the humanitarian front, we must continue to congratulate UNOSOM and the responsible international agencies for ensuring the delivery of relief assistance to Somalis at risk, for their ongoing assistance to refugees and internally displaced persons, and for their efforts to re-establish Somali agricultural programmes. We particularly congratulate them for their effective response to the major challenge posed by the outbreak of the cholera emergency in February.

On the domestic security front, some progress has been made in the Somali police and justice programme, particularly in the training and re-establishment of a Somali police force.

Considerable satisfaction can also be taken, in our analysis, from developments on the political front. Congratulations are particularly due to the Acting Special Representative on successfully persuading all the Somali parties to sign up to the Nairobi Declaration on 24 March. This document provides what has been missing from the Somali political process for the past year - namely, a commonly agreed statement of political principles and objectives.

Of course, it is disappointing that the Somali parties have not followed up on the Nairobi Declaration with the speed which we would all want. But it certainly cannot be said to be a surprise that such delays have occurred. When one considers the background against which they have been operating - the divisions and fighting among the clans and the departure in March of a number of important contributors to UNOSOM - the fact that there was progress at all is cause for some celebration. Moreover, in the past week there have been further encouraging signs on the political front, notably the convening of the Lower Juba regional conference, which will be of major importance in resolving tension in Kismayo, and, most recently, there has been agreement to proceed with the next phase of the national reconciliation process with a meeting next week in Nairobi.

It is because of this picture that my delegation was strongly of the view that the Security Council had no basis for rejecting the recommendation of the Secretary-General that UNOSOM II's mandate should be extended for a further six-month period. We believe that what Somalia and UNOSOM most need at this point is a period of stability in which they can consolidate the gains that have been made and can tackle the problems that undoubtedly remain.

There are also strong reasons, in our view, in the context of the responsible management of peace-keeping operations - both financial reasons and in terms of proper planning - for the Security Council to avoid subjecting the terms of a peace-keeping mandate to artificial and politically generated time-frames. New Zealand has consistently argued against such practices in all other cases.

In the specific case of Somalia we do not believe that it is appropriate or productive at this stage to impose on UNOSOM or the Somali parties artificial criteria or time-frames which make little sense in the circumstances and traditions of Somalia. This does not mean that the Somali parties should have a free hand to delay indefinitely the process of national reconciliation. But it does mean that we should be wary of trying to use tactics such as artificially shortening mandates to bring pressure to bear on people whose past behaviour indicates that fine-tuning the wording of Security Council resolutions is of negligible value in persuading them to cooperate with the United Nations.

Indeed, there are some in Somalia who might welcome the opportunity to speed the United Nations on its way. If that were to be the result of the Council's action today, we would have done a grave disservice to the Somali people and to the humanitarian mission which first inspired the international community to get involved in Somalia.

My delegation believes that the Security Council would be more effective if it had turned its attention to the issues which will confront us in real terms in the very near future. We have a commitment to maintain the current operation until March 1995. But what kind of United Nations presence should be envisaged for Somalia after March 1995, and how should UNOSOM's operations and structure be implemented to ensure that the transition to that next phase is as smooth and as beneficial to the Somali people as possible? We want these considerations to be at the forefront of the Council's attention in the coming months.

Mr. Sardenberg (Brazil): As we undertake the review of the activities of the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) called for in Security Council resolution 897 (1994), we have the opportunity to discuss the criteria for the assessment of the United Nations involvement and future course of action in intricate situations such as the one prevailing in Somalia. In this endeavour we are making good use of the criteria set out in the presidential statement of 3 May 1994, in which, on a non-binding basis, the Council provided the terms for the review of mandates of peace-keeping operations. To my delegation, such terms should be observed consistently, without discrimination and with sufficient flexibility to allow unforeseen situations to be accommodated within their framework. Having this in mind, and considering that we have fulfilled the requirement I have mentioned, the Brazilian delegation voted in favour of resolution 923 (1994).

The adoption of resolution 897 (1994) earlier this year represented a turning point in the mandate of the United Nations Operation in Somalia. In order to deal with an exceedingly complex and unsafe environment, the Security Council decided to shift its emphasis to assisting the political process in Somalia. By doing so, the Council acknowledged the fact that the Somali parties and their leaders bear the ultimate responsibility for setting up viable national political institutions and for reconstructing their country.

The comprehensive report of the Secretary-General, for which we are grateful, provides the Security Council with information on the Somali political developments since the adoption of resolution 897 (1994) and on the

discharge of the mandate of UNOSOM II. We welcome the fact that the transition period following the withdrawal of a large number of troops and the reorientation of the mandate of the peace-keeping operation has not degenerated into generalized violence. The relatively smooth transition is largely the result of the diligent work done by the Secretary-General's Acting Special Representative, Ambassador Kouyate, who deserves our praise. Time has proved right those delegations in the Council which, like my own, have consistently maintained that this body should, to the fullest extent possible, seek to avoid the application of the extraordinary powers for enforcement action conferred upon it in Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

We are encouraged by the Declaration made by the leaders of the Somali organizations, signed in Nairobi on 24 March last. Among the various important issues contained therein is the parties' agreement that, in order to restore sovereignty of the Somali State, a national reconciliation conference should be convened to elect a President and a Vice-President and to appoint a Prime Minister.

The Somali Declaration points to an entirely Somali solution to the Somali problem. UNOSOM, as rightly indicated by the Secretary-General, will play the role of facilitator in this process. We concur with the assessment of the Secretary-General that, although difficult, the situation in Somalia allows for hope. We view as a positive step forward the unanimous commitment of the Somali parties to the pursuit of the path of reconciliation and their decisions concerning a cease-fire and voluntary disarmament. The appeal of all Somali leaders to the United Nations for continued support in their reconciliation and rehabilitation efforts is a dramatic change in their attitude towards UNOSOM. It proves that they have started to heed the appeals of the international community, thus putting the United Nations Operation in the country in a completely new perspective of dialogue and cooperation. The momentum that has been gained should be kept going. It is vital to capitalize on these developments in the political environment in Somalia in order to reach a prompt settlement to this complex conflict.

Despite those positive developments, much remains to be done in the field of security, and we deeply deplore the fact that attacks on United Nations personnel and non-governmental organization personnel still take place. In the political field, in spite of the promising adoption of the Declaration by the leaders of the Somali political organizations, the process of national reconciliation is still being subjected to undue delays. In particular, we are dismayed by the information contained in the Secretary-General's report to the effect that the situation remains tense and that factions are rearming themselves.

The Brazilian delegation hopes that when the Council undertakes its next review of UNOSOM II the political and security situation in Somalia will have continued to improve so that by the envisaged date of the completion of the Operation's mission the Somalis will be in a position to take up the reconstruction of their country.

In conclusion, my delegation wishes to pay tribute to those who selflessly risk their lives in Somalia for the cause of peace and to thank troop-contributing countries for their continued commitment to this important United Nations peace-keeping operation.

Mr. Gnehm (United States of America): The resolution we have adopted today comes at what the Secretary-General rightly calls "a defining moment" (S/1994/614, para. 70). This resolution underscores the growing impatience of the international community with the pace of progress towards national reconciliation in Somalia which is best evidenced by the failure of the parties to meet yesterday as scheduled after three prior postponements. The adjustment in the length of the mandate's renewal to four months and the provision for a review of progress is therefore not an empty exercise. We believe that the Somali parties are paying close attention to what this body does. This is not a time for routinely conducting business as usual.

The resolution puts those most responsible for obstructing forward movement on notice: it is time for Somalis simply to get on with the job of moving towards political reconciliation. Our support for this measure today is predicated on this understanding of its meaning.

The restoration of normality in Somalia is primarily a job for the Somalis themselves. Outsiders, including the United States, remain willing to help Somalia, but it is up to the Somalis themselves to make the difficult decisions needed to bring about political reconciliation. In supporting this resolution the United States believes that the Somali factional leaders must understand that they hold the key to their country's future progress. We urge them to do so my implementing the agreement between them - the Nairobi Declaration of 24 March.

As the Secretary-General has made clear in his recent report on Somalia, this is a last chance - continued delay in the reconciliation process or the outbreak of renewed violence will prompt the international community to draw the appropriate conclusions. The Secretary-General noted in his report that, under such circumstances, he would not hesitate to recommend an end to this mission.

We strongly support the tough message the Secretary-General has attempted to deliver to the Somali factions. The international community has expended considerable resources and many lives to help Somalia. Absent unambiguous indications to the contrary, the international community is not prepared to continue helping a people who seem unwilling to help themselves.

Mr. Sidorov (Russian Federation) *(interpretation from Russian):* The Russian Federation has consistently favoured the speedy restoration of peace in Somalia and the return of its people to normal life. We support the efforts of the international community to render humanitarian assistance to the population of this country.

Unfortunately, the process of national reconciliation in Somalia is experiencing serious breakdowns. There is still no clarity concerning the issue of the timetable for holding the conference on national reconciliation and other fundamental agreements and duties are also not being carried out; these were set forward by the leaders of the Somali political factions in the Nairobi Declaration of 24 March.

We are deeply concerned by the lack of progress in implementing the concept of voluntary disarmament. We are concerned by the rearming of the Somali factions and by the use on the part of some of them of military force to strengthen their negotiating positions.

As a result of these actions, the security situation - *inter alia* as it affects the personnel of the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) and of other international and non-governmental organizations - is deteriorating. This is blocking efforts to render humanitarian assistance and complicates the process of political reconciliations; it also undermines the faith of the international community in the sincerity of the obligations undertaken by the Somali sides in Nairobi.

The Russian delegation voted for the resolution adopted today by the Security Council, believing as it does that it conveys to the Somali sides a serious signal concerning the need to step up efforts to accelerate the process of national reconciliation and establishing conditions for peace that are necessary for the shift to a political and social recovery in Somalia.

We are convinced that the key to a speedy settlement of the extended crisis in Somalia is in the hands first and foremost of the Somalis themselves, who, as is emphasized in the resolution, bear major responsibility for the establishment of viable political institutions and for the restoration of their country. It is precisely the Somali parties which must demonstrate the required political will, flexibility and a readiness for compromise and which must also cooperate constructively with the international community, which is sincerely trying to render them all possible assistance.

At the same time the Somali sides must be clearly aware that the international community and the Security Council are carefully following the situation in Somalia and will properly react to its further development.

In this context we consider it important that the resolution contains a reaffirmation of the fact that UNOSOM II will conclude its mission by March 1995 and that in July this year the Security Council once again will carefully consider the situation in Somalia.

For its part Russia intends to continue to render necessary political assistance to the process of restoring peace and harmony on Somali soil and a revival of the institutions of Somali statehood.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of Nigeria.

My delegation regrets that it did not find much ground for optimism in the further report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Somalia submitted in pursuance of paragraph 14 of resolution 897 (1994) of 24 May 1994 (S/1994/614), which constitutes the basis for the resolution we have just adopted.

On the political front the parties and factions in Somalia seem to be as far apart as ever following the outbreak of inter-clan fighting in early April and the subsequent refusal of the Group of 12 to participate in the meeting of the national reconciliation which was proposed for 15 May 1994 but had to be postponed again until 30 May 1994. Now it has become clear as we speak today that the twice-postponed meeting has failed to materialize, thus giving added cause for frustration and

for the feeling that there is a lack of seriousness on the part of the warring parties in Somalia.

The security situation has also deteriorated remarkably since the last adjustment of the UNOSOM mandate. Security conditions are made worse by the fact that expectations are now rife among the parties and factions in Somalia that it will not be long before the entire United Nations mission pulls out of the country. In the climate of additional uncertainty, non-governmental organizations in several locations in Somalia are being exposed to ever-growing danger. As the Secretary-General himself puts it:

> "the level of security is unpredictable as disturbances and inter-clan fighting occur without warning." (S/1994/614, para. 21)

In terms of disarmament and demobilization, the situation has also been far from encouraging. Despite their commitments to voluntarily disarm and demobilize, in line with the Nairobi Declaration of 24 March 1994, the parties to the conflict have failed to deliver on their commitments. Of course, voluntary disarmament and demobilization can only take place when the parties are prepared to settle their disputes peacefully. In Somalia, such a disposition appears to be lacking. On the contrary, the evidence available in the past few weeks indicates that the major factions have in fact been replenishing their weapons stockpiles and rebuilding their defensive positions with only one purpose in mind - and that purpose is awful.

Also on the humanitarian front, the situation has deteriorated rapidly. Of course, this is tied to the emergence of the so-called "technicals", increased banditry and a general deterioration in the security and political situations which have combined to thwart the movement of humanitarian personnel and the delivery of relief material.

On the positive side, however, despite the troop reduction, the military contingents of UNOSOM II have continued to discharge, as best they can under the circumstances, their humanitarian duties in Somalia. Moreover, they have also continued to support the newly established police division in carrying out the important tasks of reconstituting the Somali national police. On the humanitarian side, despite difficulties in the distribution of relief and the movement of personnel due to prevalent insecurity, available statistics show that the humanitarian division of UNOSOM II continues to be actively engaged in the resettlement of thousands of internally displaced persons in Somalia.

But at this point some crucial questions have to be asked. Given, on the one hand, the continuing apparent lack of visible progress in achieving a political settlement of the Somali conflict and the deteriorating political, military and security situation in the country, and, on the other hand, the enduring humanitarian and political needs of the Somali people, what course of action must the international community now pursue in Somalia? Should the international community - or, more specifically, the United Nations - now cut off all its assistance to Somalia and abandon the Somalis to a fate dictated not so much by the Somali people, but by the parties and factions that control the instruments of violence and coercion in the country, even though, statistically speaking, these elements are in the tiniest of tiny minorities?

The resolution which we have just adopted, and which my delegation voted in favour of, indicates that the international community, though conscious of the fact that the Somali people must continue to bear the ultimate responsibility for achieving national reconciliation and rebuilding their country, is prepared none the less to continue to play its part in promoting the peace process in Somalia. To this end, although the resolution does not extend the mandate for the six-month period recommended by the Secretary-General - an option which my delegation would clearly have preferred - it renewed the mandate of UNOSOM II for an additional four-month period.

The Nigerian delegation sees much merit in the tenor of the present resolution calling upon the parties to show good faith if continued United Nations support in Somalia is to be assured. We believe, however, that the situation in Somalia, because of its exceptional circumstances - including, in particular, the absence of a government - deserves a special and more flexible consideration and must not be treated in exactly the same framework as some other United Nations peace-keeping operations, where credible governmental and non-governmental authorities exist. It would be a sad mistake if, because of the desire for quick results, the United Nations were in the immediate future - long before our initial target date of March 1995 is reached - to embark on a precipitate withdrawal from Somalia without taking into full account Somalia's special circumstances.

Finally, my delegation would like to thank all States and all non-governmental organizations which have extended humanitarian assistance to Somalia. We are thankful to those Governments that have continued to

provide troops and financial and logistical resources for the continuation of UNOSOM'S mandate under extremely difficult circumstances. We also wish to thank the Secretary-General and his Acting Special Representative for their untiring efforts to achieve a political settlement of the Somali conflict. For its part, Nigeria, as a troop-contributing country to UNOSOM II, will continue to play a constructive role in helping to resolve the conflict in Somalia.

I now resume my function as President of the Council.

There are no further speakers on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 7.35 p.m.